

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00  
SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 NSC-05 PM-04 INR-07 L-03  
ACDA-07 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 OMB-01  
EB-07 COME-00 FRB-03 /069 W  
-----031012Z 051357 /15

O 030943Z JUN 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3979  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 NATO 04621

E.O.11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, NATO  
SUBJECT: ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS:  
NEXT STEPS

REF: (A) STATE 124528, (B) STATE 126098 (NOTAL)  
SUMMARY: TO SPEED ALLIANCE EFFORTS TO REACH CONSENSUS ON  
WELL-FOUND APPROACH TO EAST-WEST STUDY, WE BELIEVE WE  
SHOULD AIM IN INITIAL SPC DISCUSSION FOR ADOPTION OF (A)  
AN OUTLINE SIMILAR TO THAT PROPOSED REF A, (B) A ROUGH  
SCHEDULE FOR COMPLETING THE FIRST SECTION OF THE STUDY ON  
"TRENDS" IN 1977 AND THE SECOND SECTION IN EARLY 1978, AND  
(C) AGREEMENT ON INITIAL ALLIED CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE  
STUDY. ACTION REQUESTED: SEE PARA 10. END SUMMARY.

1. WE WELCOME WASHINGTON'S DETERMINATION, UNDERLINED IN  
REF A, TO CONVEY TO THE ALLIES THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH  
THE US GOVERNMENT VIEWS THE FORTHCOMING ALLIANCE STUDY OF  
EAST-WEST RELATIONS. US CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE HIGHEST  
QUALITY, ALONG WITH STIMULATING AND EVEN PROVOCATIVE  
CHALLENGING OF EXISTING ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING EAST-WEST  
RELATIONS, WILL HELP INSURE THAT THE ALLIES RESPOND IN  
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KIND AND THAT THE STUDY NOT BE DILUTED TO A COMMON  
DENOMINATOR ASSESSMENT EXTRUDED BY NATO'S BUREAUCRATIC  
PROCESS. WE AGREE WITH THE FOCUS OF THE STUDY DESCRIBED  
IN PARA 3 REFTEL AND, WHEN AUTHORIZED, WOULD PLAN TO DRAW  
ON THIS GUIDANCE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHERS HERE. OUR  
IMMEDIATE TASK, WE BELIEVE, SHOULD BE TO LAUNCH NATO WORK  
ON THE STUDY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND WELL BEFORE THE

SUMMER HOLIDAYS. WE PROPOSE INITIALLY TO FOCUS ON THE STEPS OUTLINED BELOW.

2. NAC APPROVAL OF TERMS OF REFERENCE: WE UNDERSTAND THAT SYG LUNS' MEMORANDUM ON FOLLOWING UP THE LONDON SUMMIT TO BE CIRCULATED LATER THIS WEEK WILL INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE ON THE EAST-WEST STUDY, DRAWN FROM THE LONDON COMMUNIQUE:

"EAST-WEST RELATIONS: THE PERMANENT COUNCIL WILL WISH TO FULFILL THE MANDATE IT RECEIVED AT THE LONDON MEETING TO MAKE A FRESH STUDY OF LONG-TERM TRENDS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND TO ASSESS THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE."

THE NAC PLANNED TO CONSIDER THIS MEMORANDUM AT ITS JUNE 15 MEETING, FOLLOWING THE RETURN OF SYG LUNS AND PERMREPS FROM THE OTTAWA NPG MINISTERIAL MEETING, BUT TO AVOID DELAY WE HAVE SUGGESTED TO THE SYG'S OFFICE THAT A NAC MEETING BE HELD JUNE 8 TO CLEAR THE WAY FORMALLY FOR THE SPC TO BEGIN WORK ON THE OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY.

3. INITIAL SPC MEETINGS: THE SPC COULD HOLD ITS FIRST MEETING ON THE STUDY IN THE SECOND WEEK IN JUNE. THEREAFTER, THE SPC WILL LIKELY MEET EVERY WEEK OR SO ON THE EAST-WEST STUDY, WITH A BREAK IN AUGUST.

4. OUTLINE OF THE STUDY: WE BELIEVE THE FIRST SPC MEETINGS SHOULD FOCUS ON AN OUTLINE PROPOSED BY THE US, AND WE WOULD LIKE TO CIRCULATE A PROPOSAL TO OTHER DELEGATIONS BEFORE THE FIRST SPC MEETING. THE OUTLINE IN PARA 4 REF A  
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IS EXCELLENT EXCEPT THAT WE WOULD SUGGEST RECASTING THE SECTION ON "IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE" AS FOLLOWS TO AVOID POSSIBLE FRENCH SENSIVITIES: QUOTE:

(1) IMPLICATIONS OF THE ABOVE FOR EAST-WEST RELATIONS, DERIVING FROM AN ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT SITUATIONS AND TRENDS, AND LOOKING TO THE FUTURE; IMPLICATIONS FOR WESTERN POWER AND POSITION IN VARIOUS TERMS: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, MILITARY, AND SOCIAL -- INCLUDING THE BROADER INTERESTS OF NATO ALLIES.

(2) DESCRIPTION OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO RESPOND TO THE TRENDS DISCUSSED ABOVE AND ANALYSIS OF IMPLICATIONS OF THESE ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES. THE APPROACHES THUS ANALYZED SHOULD INCLUDE DISCUSSION OF SUCH ISSUES AS SALT AND MBFR; EAST-WEST TRADE, CREDITS, AND TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSFERS; HUMAN RIGHTS AND CSCE; AND RELEVANT ALLIED POLITICAL AND MILITARY EFFORTS. END QUOTE.

THIS REWORDING DELETES PHRASES THAT MIGHT TRIGGER FRENCH OBJECTIONS INCLUDING DIRECT REFERENCES TO ARMS CONTROL, WESTERN INTERESTS OUTSIDE THE NATO AREA, AND "ALTERNATIVE WESTERN STRATEGIES". IN OUR VIEW, THE FRENCH WOULD BE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBLE USE OF THE EAST-WEST STUDY TO DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE ALLIED "STRATEGY" TOWARD THE EAST. WE BELIEVE ALL THESE ISSUES CAN BE COVERED IN THIS SECTION OF THE REPORT -- BUT THAT WE CAN INCREASE PROSPECTS FOR DOING SO BY AVOIDING DIFFERENCES OF PRINCIPLE WITH THE FRENCH OVER THE OUTLINE.

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5. BASIC SCHEDULE: WE PROPOSE SUGGESTING TO THE SPC, FOR SUBSEQUENT APPROVAL BY THE NAC, THAT DURING THE REMAINDER OF THIS YEAR, THE ALLIES CONCENTRATE IN PARTICULAR ON THE FIRST PART OF THE OUTLINE, I.E., "TRENDS THROUGH 1985", WITH A VIEW TO PREPARING A DRAFT OF THIS SECTION OF THE STUDY FOR THE DECEMBER 1977 NAC MINISTERIAL MEETING. IN THE FIRST PART OF 1978, ALLIES WOULD CONCENTRATE ON "IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE", AND ALSO UPDATE, AS NECESSARY, THE FIRST PART OF THE STUDY IN ORDER TO HAVE THE FULL TEXT COMPLETED FOR FINAL APPROVAL AT THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT.

6. DISTRIBUTION OF ASSIGNMENTS AMONG THE ALLIES: IN OUR VIEW, A US OBJECTIVE IN THE STUDY SHOULD BE TO INVOLVE ALL ALLIES TO THE MAXIMUM DEGREE POSSIBLE AND TO MAKE THEM FEEL THAT THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS ARE SIGNIFICANT. TO DO SO, WE COULD PROPOSE DIVIDING UP THE INITIAL CONTRIBUTIONS SO

THAT EACH INTERESTED ALLY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR AT LEAST A SMALL PORTION OF THE STUDY, AND INDICATE THOSE AREAS THE US WOULD PLAN TO COVER IN ITS INITIAL CONTRIBUTION. IF THIS APPROACH IS ADOPTED, WASHINGTON COULD LATER SUPPLEMENT INITIAL ALLIED CONTRIBUTIONS AND HELP FILL IN OTHER

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PARTS OF THE OUTLINE. WE WOULD ANTICIPATE SOME OVERLAPPING CONTRIBUTIONS, WHICH THE IS AND SPC WILL MELD AS WORK PROCEEDS.

7. ECONOMIC COMMITTEE: ALLIED REPS WILL WISH TO ELICIT CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE NATO ECONOMIC COMMITTEE AND DIRECTORATE, A PROCEDURE THAT CAN BE WORKED OUT IN SUBSEQUENT SPC MEETINGS. AS TO REF B, WE SEE NO LIKELY FRAGMENTATION OF OVERALL EFFORT BY INVOLVEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC DIRECTORATE IN THE STUDY, PARTICULARLY SINCE THIS DIRECTORATE IS UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF SPC CHAIRMAN (AND ASYG FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS) JUNG.

8. NAC MEETINGS IN THE FALL AND SPRING AT ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEVEL AND PARTICIPATION OF EXPERTS: WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THESE PROPOSALS (PARA 2, REF A). WE BELIEVE WE CAN BEST PROMOTE SUCH MEETINGS THROUGH INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AND THAT INTEREST IN THEM WILL LIKELY GROW NATURALLY AS WORK ON THE EAST-WEST STUDY PROCEEDS. ACCORDINGLY, WE WOULD NOT FORMALLY PROPOSE SUCH SESSIONS AT EARLY SPC MEETINGS, BUT WOULD SUPPORT THEM IF MENTIONED BY OTHERS.

9. FOLLOW-UP: FOLLOWING AGREEMENT ON AN OUTLINE, BASIC SCHEDULE, AND INITIAL ASSIGNMENTS, THE SPC CAN ADDRESS SPECIFIC TARGET DATES FOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND REVIEW OF THE REPORT. WE BELIEVE THAT WE CAN SHAPE THE WORK PROGRAM IN A SATISFACTORY MANNER AS WE GO ALONG AND THAT WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE INITIALLY ON THE THREE POINTS OUTLINED ABOVE.

10. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON THE ABOVE SUGGESTIONS, IF POSSIBLE BY JUNE 8. BENNETT

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